20c FEBRUARY 5, 1951

New Republic

US Blocks Peace

A BRITISH VIEW

By VICTOR PURCELL

CONFLICT IN THE UN

AN EDITORIAL

SCIENTISTS AND THE GREAT DEBATE

By A. G. MEZERIK

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

Excerpts from Readers' Letters

"The other day a friend said to me, 'I want you to send in my name to the *New Republic* you are always quoting. It makes sense to me.'

"Well, that subscription is the province of another department, but she was voicing the main reason 'Why the *New Republic* is important to me.' It makes sense. . . .

"I think it's my duty to be a well-informed citizen but I see no reason why I should be bored to death in the process of becoming one. That's another reason why I'm enthusiastic about the *New Republic*. Its literary quality gives me an aesthetic pleasure quite aside from that solid satisfaction I gain from learning what is going on in the world. To me, the columns of 'Honest Harold' Ickes smack of the crisp comments once written by William Blake on the margins of books. . . ."

Ruth A. Putman
AKRON, OHIO

"I should like to set down the reasons 'Why the *New Republic* is important to me,' or rather more precisely why the *New Republic* has suddenly again become important to me. . . .

"When the *New Republic* made its appearance in 1914 I was an undergraduate in college. . . . The new journal was a bright and welcome light, its bearers, Croly, Weyl, Straight and a group of eager fresh minds, had something stimulating to say to a young man facing the world. It was a timely and a highly fortunate experience. . . .

"We now again are living in a fearfully confounded and dangerous world. The prospects are terrifying. The news is cluttered with conflicting and unreliable accounts. . . .

"Last week I bought a copy of the *New Republic* at the newsstand. Today I bought another. What I read pleased me right down to the ground. Here was the old light again. There is the same exciting stimulus to sane thinking together with a cool and broadly based judgment operating upon the crowded and confused events of today. . . ."

Orvis C. Irwin
IOWA CITY, IOWA

"There are three reasons why the *New Republic* is important to me.

"First, I am a teacher in high school. I have students in my class in public discussion who are called upon during the year to take part in radio forums, in student discussions before various civic groups, as well as to learn discussion techniques in their regular class work. . . .

"Second, the *New Republic* has up-to-date reviews of stage and radio. These sections my students in radio and drama may use for quick reference. . . .

"Third, the *New Republic* is important to me as a citizen. If I had to depend upon my reading of newspapers to keep informed, I would probably be a die-hard Republican fighting the New Deal and boxing Roosevelt shadows. The *New Republic* comes upon me each week just as I am being misled and further confused by the barrage of one-sided comments from radio speakers and by single-minded editorials in our one newspaper. It gives me a new perspective and a hope that somehow the voice of opposition will be heard."

Dorothy Matheny
TOLEDO, OHIO

"The *New Republic* is important to me because I am a housewife in an ultra-conservative middle western town where I have little access to new ideas of any kind. . . . The *New Republic* helps me keep a good check on the administration and Congress by giving voting records and timely articles with enough fair viewpoints that I can still make up my own mind. . . .

"Just as a good argument or round table discussion can bring out the best in man's mind—so reading the *New Republic* each week makes me think—and that is an important thing to the world—making little people like me think—and care—what happens to this world of ours. That is why the *New Republic* is important to me."

Mrs. Carl E. Bushey
PARSONS, KANSAS

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

EISENHOWER'S return emphasizes the utter collapse of the big Taft-Wherry-Hoover isolationist drive. For a few weeks it looked as though it might win. Hadn't GOP conservatives won the election; wasn't Taft in the ascendant? Maybe Bill Borah was back! Isolationist speeches broadcast over the world confused our allies who can never understand our peculiar way of doing things.

But then public sentiment rolled in. Wherry had maneuvered to achieve a test vote in the Senate. The moment came for him to rise and demand the vote. He sat still. It was one of the most dramatic pauses we ever witnessed. It was the spine-tingling drama of inaction. Facing certain defeat, Wherry had thrown in the sponge. No vote was taken. It was difficult for newsmen to convey the collapse in the stereotyped phrases of so-called objective reporting, but that is what the incident meant. The "Great Debate" had ended.

Toward the close Taft wobbled all over the lot. As contender for the GOP Presidential nomination, Taft just can't face up to Eisenhower, symbol of the GOP internationalists.

What does Europe think of the affair? It feels the usual confusion, we assume. Yet the incident was typical—first, the discordant speeches, then the consequent atmosphere of chaos, the six weeks' interval when everybody sat down and talked, the appearance of a "trend" visible to sensitive observers; and, finally, without any vote at all, it is all over. A decision has in some baffling and mystical way occurred, and somebody starts screaming immediately about something else.

We emphasize this in detail because it is all so typical. With our quaint system of government (which is probably second only to the French in cumbersome inefficiency), it is about the best we can do. If Washington has now once more set its allies' nerves on edge, if it has convinced Moscow (erroneously) that America is hopelessly divided, if from such developments the possibility of world war three is furthered—well, it can't be helped. We can always adopt an efficient parliamentary system of government after the next war ends.

Controls have been started. It is a great fact. It must be added quickly that they seem to have been hastily improvised and applied hind-end to. Wall Street looked them over and gave its own verdict—stocks soared. Mistakes at the beginning can be forgiven, however. What is more dangerous is symbolized in the resignation of Admiral Hoover as director of enforcement on the grounds that he couldn't stand "politics" and the accompanying rumor that the whole big new agency is to be staffed with Democratic faithful. If true, that will be a sorry development indeed. This agency must have public respect to succeed, and to throw it into politics at the start is suicidal.

Once more we must stress that controls by themselves are palliatives. They are an aspirin for a raging fever. If inflation is to be met, Congress must enact higher taxes than this country has ever before seen. And the Treasury must abandon the folly of its cheap-money, easy-loan policy under which bank loans have increased $8 billion since Korea, when business borrowing should have been brutally repressed. This matter is technical, but it seems incredible that someone around Truman can't make him understand what Secretary Snyder is doing. Snyder is pumping inflation into the economy through the banks while we are trying to halt it in the grocery stores.

One year ago this magazine said editorially, "The time has come for the President to appoint a Civil Liberties Committee, to report on intolerance in America and to recommend action to protect the right to protest and to pio-

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neer in the world of ideas." Truman has now named the nine-man Nimitz commission to do this and to look into the problem of subversion generally. It is a good thing. It is true that the Nimitz team is so impeccably high-toned that it doesn't have a trade unionist on it, but on the other hand perhaps this will shut up the McCarthys and Fergusons who denounced the group even before they knew its membership.

There is no big country where there are fewer avowed Communists or where they produce a bigger scare than America. Six federal agencies are now actively investigating them: the Nimitz commission, the Loyalty Review Board, the new Seth Richardson commission set up under the McCarran act, the FBI, the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its Senate counter-part headed by McCarran. Competition between the House and Senate committees, incidentally, should bring a high flow of anti-subversive headlines.

US generals honestly don't know what is happening in Korea. One hypothesis increasingly heard is that the cold has taken savage toll of the ill-equipped Chinese now far extended from their home base. Chinese prisoners have been captured wearing rubber sneakers, a sure invitation to frost-bite; furthermore, getting the baggy, Chinese cotton uniforms wet means quick death in that climate.

Diminution of MacArthur's supreme power continues. One illustration is the end of the jealous Tokyo-GHQ-censorship rule that reporters could not mention individual generals without citing that they were under MacArthur's top command. If reporters forgot to mention "MacArthur," somebody wrote it in. This no longer applies to General Ridgway and his 8th Army.

Notes: Moscow has just slashed food shipments to hungry Czechs because the latter failed to fill quotas of machine-tool shipments to Moscow; after denouncing this "barbaric use of human hunger as an instrument of political pressure" the US Senate is preparing to let India's hordes starve—to bring pressure on Nehru. . . .

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Frustration of Unification

SIR: Your second editorial article in a series of three, "The Frustration of Unification" (the *NR*, December 25), seemed to me as thought-provoking and stimulating a piece of journalism as I have ever run across. In it, you at least attempted to get to the root of the matter, the proverbial disunity among European peoples. . . .

There are a few items with which I should like to take issue. . . . You quote the results of the poll, recently conducted in Germany, from which the reader learns that a majority of Westerners in Europe are for a "Western European Union." But you mistranslate the word "Union." The meaning is not, as in our country, a union of states under one government. The meaning is "Allianz" (alliance), about the equivalent of our entente cordiale during World War I days.

You state further that, despite obvious differences among the nations, such as religion, language, custom, etc., which are to be admitted, "yet these examples of the diversity of individual European societies are superficial," and continue with this rather bold statement: "Regardless of contemporary differences in religion, language . . . Western Europe's basic institutions and traditions are the same and share a common and binding historical development since antiquity." I think it is safe to say that you are unable to substantiate this statement by facts either from the past or from the present. . . . The differences are there, and I venture to state that they are considerably greater (say, between Norway and Sweden, to name just two constitutional monarchies with a socialistic government *and* with much common history) than between a Massachusetts white man and a Louisiana Negro. . . .

Your idea of a federated union is truly "Un-European," unworkable and unthinkable. . . . Your statement that the "essential unity of Western European culture is far greater than its national separateness," holds true, in my opinion, only in one instance: Switzerland, where three peoples of different language, custom and culture live together under one federated government. But even Switzerland, as a whole, is violently opposed to a political fusion with her closest neighbors, Germany, Austria and France! . . .

No, West Europe's "unity" must be founded solely on economic bases, if any. That unity was not achieved after World War I thanks to the entente cordiale, just as it is not being achieved now after World War II, thanks to the same entente "cordiale."

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. [illegible]

The VFW and the UN

SIR: Because the Veterans of Foreign Wars are opposed to the World Federalist movement, and other one-world-government schemes, it does not follow that they would discredit the United Nations organization or are "opponents of strong world organization." Such is the obvious implication of your editorial "World Federation" (*NR* January 8), wherein you link the VFW with Gerald L. K. Smith's questionable activities.

On the contrary, as evidenced by resolutions of department and national encampments, the VFW is in accord with the principles and purposes of the UN and gave full support and acclaim to the United States action in Korea. . . . Just recently at a meeting in Washington, support of the UN by the National Legislative Committee of the VFW was reaffirmed. Thus it would appear that the VFW, instead of being an "opponent of strong world organization," is a strong proponent of the only world organization of any degree of strength whatsoever.

Recent fast-moving world events, bringing diversity of opinion among the "World Federalists" themselves, should indicate that if the one-world-government idea is not entirely visionary, it is at least premature. W. W. CAMPBELL

Post 81, Veterans of Foreign Wars
Portland, Ore.

Franco's Million Men

SIR: Perhaps you may print in the near future some comment about the remarks made by Franco's Ambassador Lequerica to the reporters, saying that Spain may offer one million men [to the West].

We want to remember that this million men must be the same "million" that Franco offered to Hitler in his speech of December 7, 1942, in which he said:

If Berlin should some day be in danger, Spain, if it were necessary, would send a million men, in order to defend it from the Red hordes.

He had already promised the same million men in another speech of February 14, 1942, at Seville.

Of course, when the time came, his million men were not at Berlin.

(Both documents are enclosed in the Report of the Investigation Subcommittee, of the UN Security Council, on Franco's Spain. A copy of this publication has been filed with the Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., where the registration statement filed by the Basque Delegation, 30 Fifth Avenue, New York, as an agent for the Basque Government-in-exile is available for public inspection. The fact of registration does not indicate approval or disapproval by the US Government.)

New York City THE BASQUE DELEGATION

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VOLUME 124, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1888, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 5, 1951 **New Republic**

CAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY WORK?

GENERAL Eisenhower, back from Europe, is pounding on one central idea. René Pleven in conference with President Truman is emphasizing the same idea: *allied unity is the price of world peace.*

The reason is plain. The Soviet regime is a realistic and opportunist regime. Its leaders place a high value on achieving world power. They place an even higher value on preserving their own power. They follow no rigid timetable. They are the masters of improvisation. Where aggression seems profitable they undertake aggression. Where strength and stability preclude aggression and revolution they negotiate and wait.

We cannot yet divert the Soviet regime from its objective of world power. We can induce it to seek world power by means other than war, by making aggression unprofitable.

Allied unity makes aggression unprofitable. Division among the allies opens the way to aggression. And today the allies are deeply divided.

Aggression was launched in Korea because the allies seemed to Russia to be unwilling and unable to defend South Korea against attack. In their present state of weakness, division and demoralization, the allies may well seem to Russia to be unwilling and unable to defend an infinitely greater prize for aggression—Yugoslavia.

For the Marxist hierarchy, the Titoist heresy is intolerable and must be destroyed. For the spokesman of imperial Russia, Yugoslavia is the key that can unlock the defenses of the West. If Yugoslavia falls, Greece is cut off, Turkey is isolated, Italy is imperilled, all Europe is shaken, the Adriatic is opened to Soviet submarines, the southern flank of the USSR is secured and operations in the North can be undertaken with assurance by Soviet generals who fight by the book.

The Russians have tried infiltration, subversion, assassination, boycott, sabotage—all pressures short of war against Tito. They have stopped short of war because war could not be fought by proxy as in Korea. In the last year, however, the counterpart of the North Korean armies has been raised in 600,000 Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian and Albanian troops. Border raids and provocations have been rising as they did in Korea in the spring and summer of 1950. As in Korea, evidence that the allies will not move to counter aggression may be all that is needed to start the satellite armies marching.

Tito has stated that the fall of Czechoslovakia was due less to the duplicity of the allies in appeasing Hitler than to the failure of the Czechs to realize that resistance would bring the allies in on their side. He has added that Yugoslavia will not repeat the Czechs' mistake. That assurance helps, but it is not enough to prevent a world war.

II

Yugoslavia is one flash point of world war. There are many others. There is an urgent need for the allies to reconcile their conflicts and to regain a common approach to peace.

That approach is expressed through the UN and today a major conflict is raging among the free nations concerning the role of the UN. It gives rise to bitterness and inaction among other free peoples, and to hostility against the UN in the United States since we are carrying the main burden in Korea apparently without support.

The conflict concerning the UN is implicit in the Charter. One part of the Charter carries forward the collective security concept of the League of Nations and requires the UN to punish aggression. A second part of the Charter recognizes that collective security is almost unenforceable against a major power, too large to be punished except by world war. It requires the UN to seek peace by conciliation and to serve as a universal forum of discussion and diplomacy.

In response to the breakdown of unanimity, the rise of aggression and the paralysis of the Security Council, the United States has led in the effort to stress the collective security role of the UN. We have won in the lobbies of the UN and lost in the homes and hearts of our allies. The main loss has been in Asia, where the principle of collective security is silently repudiated. Asia lacks the resources to send men and weapons around the globe to halt aggression wherever it breaks. It is terrified of being drawn into the struggles of the great powers. Its basic program is neutrality in the event of a third world war. A true neutral, like Switzerland, cannot even belong in the UN because it cannot accept any of the obligations that UN membership involves. Nations, like India, that aspire to neutrality, seek naturally

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to minimize the obligations of UN membership and to emphasize the role of the UN as a universal forum, since forums involve no obligation but to listen.

Britain and Western Europe are caught half way between the US and India. They aspire to collective security to defend Western Europe. They fear it outside Europe, since they lack the present resources to defend their own frontiers. They also stress the role of the UN in conciliation. They also fear that the US is bent on destroying that role. "If the present Anglo-American deadlock is to be resolved," writes the *New Statesman*, "we must realize that the average American believes, in defiance of the Charter, that the mission of the UN is to organize collective security against Communism."

Yet the issue is not one of America against the world. Our own Senator Taft argues with great force that the US must "develop our own military policy and our own policy of alliances without regard to the non-existent power of the United Nations to prevent aggression." He also supports the UN as an instrument of diplomacy, and Walter Lippmann ardently applauds his view. "No universal society like the United Nations can survive if it is expected to execute the principle of collective security," Lippmann writes. "Survival of the United Nations depends . . . on a general recognition of the fact that while it is not a policeman and cannot be made into a policeman . . . it is still an invaluable meeting place."

The logical and proper conclusion of this thesis, which Lippmann and Taft have not yet pressed, is that the Communists should represent China in the UN.

III

There is a great deal in this argument, and the fact that a majority of UN members lean toward it, is, in itself, persuasive. However, we see at least two critical dangers ahead.

The first involves the transition period, during which the collective security aspects of the UN are held below the minimum level required to enforce peace and before a system of alliances can be created strong enough to deter worldwide aggression.

For example, in Yugoslavia, Tito has kept out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and avoided bilateral guarantees on the grounds that these actions are offensive to his ideology and provocative to Russia. The only protection Tito feels he can accept is the protection of collective security as provided by the UN Charter. The Charter is a weak reed if the neutralist nations of the UN have their way. But in the absence of guarantees outside the UN, attacks on collective security act simply as an invitation to Stalin to strike again.

A second danger implicit in the notion of peace by alliances is that alliances are operated on the obscure principle of power politics, far removed from the processes of democracy. Yet free peoples are determined to shape the foreign policies of their nations by simple above-board rules that they can recognize and understand. Also, they have a vision of a world in which law succeeds anarchy and its sister diplomacy in the government of nations, and they are reaching out for that world as it is expressed in the principle of collective security to enforce peace.

In or out of the UN, collective security is indispensable. For no nation acting alone can elect to live in peace. There is a clear and overriding need for a common program and a common strategy to maintain and develop the unity of free peoples. Yet no organization exists today that can determine and implement the common strategy of the free nations. And because the need is obvious to peoples who believe in collective action, their natural reaction is to push the UN into the vacuum. And naturally, when the UN is being pressed to serve as the political council of the free nations, the idea that Communist China should be brought into the UN violates the deepest instincts of men of good will.

Yet the UN is not constructed to shape the common strategy of the free nations; and Asia, quite apart from Russia, will not permit it to play that role.

Today, in consequence, we are all at odds. The UN is torn apart between collective security and conciliation on the issue of naming China the aggressor. The free nations are drifting apart. There is no common council; as the result we blame our allies for refusing to contribute to the common cause, and they insist in bitterness that they are compelled to contribute without the right to participate in the decisions we make.

The lack of a political council leads to recrimination and also to costly delay. Europe's turn is next. Europe, for example, is still faltering on its armaments program. And for good reason. Americans would not deliver their youth to a general who was not subject to representative civilian government. Why should Europeans deliver their youth to General Eisenhower when there is no commensurate civil power to which he can answer?

Allied unity is the price of peace. And the price of allied unity is still a representative political council with power to shape and implement the policies of the free nations. Haphazard meetings with European premiers, and brilliant personalities, like Eisenhower, are still no alternative to responsible continuous government for the West. When that limited government is created, the logic of admitting China to the UN will become apparent, and a new basis for co-operation with Asia will be laid.

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THE WEEK

CIVIL RIGHTS SETBACK

The Supreme Court on its last decision day in this term served to confuse, rather than clarify, the issue of freedom of speech, virtually nullifying a previous court decision on this basic right. The Court, in a six-to-three decision, upheld the conviction of Irving Feiner, a former Syracuse University student and a member of the Young Progressives of America, accused of "an intent to provoke a breach of peace" by using "offensive, disorderly, abusive and insulting language and behavior."

Feiner was speaking on a Syracuse street corner, using a loudspeaker to publicize a meeting of the Young Progressives of America which was to be addressed by former Assistant Attorney General O. John Rogge. He attracted a crowd of about 80 people, including two policemen who later testified that they heard "angry mutterings" from the crowd which was "shoving and milling around." The "abusive language" Feiner was accused of using was, in its entirety: "Mayor Costello [of Syracuse] is a champagne-sipping bum; he does not speak for the Negro people. . . . The 15th Ward is run by corrupt politicians, and there are horse rooms operating there. . . . President Truman is a bum. . . . Mayor O'Dwyer is a bum. . . . The American Legion is a Nazi Gestapo. . . ."

The police, after severe questioning by the prosecution, swore that Feiner said, "Negroes don't have equal rights, and they should rise up in arms and fight for them." Feiner denied he said that, and Justice Black, in a footnote of his bitter dissent, declared, "I believe the record demonstrates rather conclusively" that he did not use the phrase as the police said.

Chief Justice Vinson, in the majority opinion, said Feiner was given a "full fair trial" and was not arrested for the speech or its contents but "the reaction which it actually engendered." The majority finding upheld Feiner's sentence of 30 days in jail for "disorderly conduct."

Dissenting were Justices Douglas, Minton and Black. Justice Douglas pointed out that the record showed no fights and no "disorder." It did, he said, show "an unsympathetic audience and the threat of one man to haul the speaker from the stage." If the police support those who would break up meetings, he said, they "become the new censors of speech." Justice Black, in a separate dissent, declared that, even assuming that there was a "crisis," it was the duty of the police to protect Feiner's right to speak.

"Even accepting every 'finding of fact' [made by the trial judge], I think this conviction makes a mockery of the free speech guarantees of the First and Fourteenth Amendments," Black said. "The end result of the affirmance here is to approve a simple and readily available technique by which cities and states can with impunity subject all speeches, political or otherwise, on streets or elsewhere, to the supervision and censorship of the local police. I will have no part or parcel in this holding which I view as a long step toward totalitarian authority."

Black had every right to be bitter in view of the fact that a year and a half ago the Supreme Court reversed the conviction of Arthur Terminiello, the "Father Coughlin of the South," whose Jew-baiting speech before an audience of more than 800 in Chicago was certainly nearer the "clear and present danger" riot stage than that of Feiner. A crowd of 1,500 stood outside the private hall, throwing stones, and shouting "Fascist," while, inside, Terminiello referred again and again to "atheistic, Communistic, Zionist Jews." Repelled as they were by Terminiello's actions, liberals praised the Supreme Court for reversing his conviction on the ground that the Chicago trial judge went too far in instructing the jury that "breach of the peace" meant anything which "stirs the public to anger . . . dispute . . . or unrest." The decision was five to four and the majority then included Justices Black, Douglas and Reed, and the late Justices Rutledge and Murphy. The high court and the tenor of the times have changed considerably.

LIBRARIAN DEFENDED

BARTLESVILLE, OKLA. (NR corresp.)

The arbitrary dismissal of Ruth Brown, for 31 years Bartlesville's librarian, has been condemned by the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the Oklahoma Library Association.

"Miss Brown was unjustly and cavalierly discharged because of her private beliefs and because of her professional belief in free libraries," the committee concludes.

The librarian was dismissed last fall allegedly because she permitted so-called "subversive" literature — *The Nation*, *New Republic* and *Soviet Russia Today* —to be displayed on the magazine shelves. Miss Brown has taken the case to court, but a district judge refused to reinstate her. An appeal is under consideration.

The Intellectual Freedom Committee report, which was the result of a four-month study, charged that the citizens' committee which attacked Miss Brown actually was motivated by opposition to her belief in fair treatment for Negroes and her challenges of "Jim Crow" in Bartlesville. The report stated:

> [Libraries] do not indoctrinate. They serve all segments of a society, not any one political, social, age, economic, racial or religious group. . . . We cannot adopt the enemy's tactics and not be smeared with his tar. We cannot defend freedom by the use of oppression. . . .
>
> We are well aware that we must have the opportunity to discover who is our enemy, to know his beliefs and his tactics in order to expose him successfully. The citizens' committee would deny this to the citizens of Bartlesville. It would require them to read only that which it considered proper. It would leave them in ignorance. . . .

Miss Brown has suffered the loss of her

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position, but Bartlesville has suffered more. It has transgressed against the freedom of its library and thereby transgressed upon its distinction as an institution for public information. It has denied its patrons free access to reading matter.

VIRGINIA JUSTICE

Attorneys for the seven Martinsville, Va., Negroes convicted of rape (see *NR*, January 29) have filed for writs of habeas corpus in the US District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. Late last week Judge Sterling Hutcheson filed an order calling upon the state to "show cause" why writs should not be issued for the Martinsville men. Judge Hutcheson heard oral arguments on January 30. Unless a stay of execution is granted this week, the "Martinsville seven" are still scheduled to die on February 2 and 5.

FRANCO AND TITO

US policy toward the dictators of Spain and Yugoslavia is assuming increased importance as General Eisenhower helps Europe plan its defense. Our military look upon both countries as essential strategic strongholds in any defensive pattern for Europe—Yugoslavia as an advance bastion blocking any Soviet move to the West, Spain as a defensible rear-guard base.

We have frankly bid for the support of Franco and Tito recently by making a $70 million food grant to Yugoslavia and a $60 million loan to Spain, with an official US ambassador to that country thrown in for good measure. Plans now are for much firmer ties. The Pentagon favors close military alliance with Spain leading to her participation in the Atlantic Pact, and is prepared, as a result of the increased troop and propaganda activity on Tito's borders, to commit us much further to strengthening Yugoslavia's armies in case of attack.

Until recently, Franco has been returning the West's scorn of him by pretending to spurn such of its works as the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan. As late as January 15, the Madrid newspaper *Ya* was still taking the line that Eisenhower's tour of European capitals had produced neither "ready compliance" nor "complete failure"; Germany, it said, was ready to join in Western defense while (Socialist) Norway and France were not. During all the postwar years of pressure from the West, Franco has refused to carry out reforms of any kind. Spain's soldiers still have their old arms; its population is apathetic and demoralized; its economy, lethargic.

Tito is trying to continue the Communist revolution in Yugoslavia in the face of domestic economic stress and the threat of invasion by Stalin's satellite armies. According to Yugoslav claims, those armies now total 660,000, far more than the peace treaties allow. In addition, there are between five and ten Russian divisions in Austria and Hungary, supposedly to "protect communications lines." Cominform propaganda has been stepped up. Serbian and Macedonian broadcasts into Yugoslavia are charging that "the Tito fascist regime's disgusting campaign against the Soviet Union has secretly included Yugoslavia in the North Atlantic Pact." The effectiveness of that attack is indirectly admitted by Tito's unwillingness to enter into a military alliance with the West. "We have needs," he said recently, "but we have asked nothing from abroad, mainly not to give material for enemy propaganda." Tito says that he will seek assistance from the UN only if attacked.

The European democracies are eager to strengthen ties with Tito and are hostile to projection of Franco into the circle of the Atlantic Pact because of their lingering suspicion of US plans for a retreat behind the Pyrenees. US pressure on the North Atlantic Council to extend the required unanimous invitation to Franco would undermine Eisenhower's attempts to rally European courage and effort. While Tito should not be forced to join the Atlantic Pact, wheat and machine guns for Yugoslavia will strengthen the West's frontiers on the Danube.

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

"Tell you what—if I stand on your shoulders—"

EMERGENCY HOUSING

Defense-housing legislation seems to be headed for the same pitfalls encountered during World War II. "In the emergency period 10 years ago," John L. Thurston, assistant administrator of the Federal Security Agency, told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, "we waited until substantial migration was under way and overwhelming local congestion was evident. . . ." During World War II, eight or nine million persons moved to new areas, causing an acute shortage of homes, school facilities and playgrounds, hospital beds, doctors and teachers. Thurston said the Labor Department estimates there will be a shift of two million workers from nondefense to defense production within the next six months, compared to a shift of 200,000 during the past six months.

The Senate Committee is now considering a new defense-housing bill which would include up to $3 billion in new mortgage insurance authority for private construction and $125 million in public funds for federally-financed housing

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and community facilities. The bill omits any control of building costs, giving private builders as free a range as they had during the last war when many made a killing by charging more than necessary for fees for architects, and padding land costs. Housing and Home Finance Administrator Raymond M. Foley has encouraged this boon to private builders on the grounds that defense housing should be "permanent, sound and livable" rather than the poorly-designed inadequate houses that mushroomed in some war-plant and military installations in the last war.

However commendable this objective may be, the problem of defense workers' ability to pay for the homes built by private industry has been ignored by both Foley and the Senate committee. Building costs are high and even if private builders manage to stay within the $7,200 to $8,100 limit per house, defense workers would have to pay from $73 to $93 per month rent—and this would not include utilities. Certainly such a program is out of the realm of low-cost housing for defense workers.

The housing lobby, not satisfied with this break, is now attempting to have the $8,100 limit raised and to strike out the meager $125 million for public housing provided in the new bill. Foley has indicated that he would like to put public housing for defense under his own agency.

The present Public Housing Authority has the machinery to do the job under the Housing Act of 1949 simply by converting the public-housing provision to defense housing. There is a need for extra emergency housing. However, unless the bill now being considered is amended, defense workers will not be the ones who benefit from the program.

MANPOWER FOR DEFENSE

To those who are looking toward full-scale defense production, manpower is the major problem, and the utilization of minority groups is the key to the problem. The need for some form of fair-employment-practices legislation is as apparent today as it was a decade ago when the country was mobilizing for war. But the reasons have changed. In 1941 there was considerable unemployment, and FEPC legislation was urged in order to obtain jobs for Negroes. Today there is full employment, and the problem is the much harder one of breaking down the barriers of discrimination which have kept qualified, skilled workers in unskilled jobs. In 1941, women, the first reservoir of untapped manpower, were eager to work; because of the depression of the 1930s and the decline of both marriage and birth-rates, many were in a position to hold full-time jobs. Today, as a result of the "baby boom" of the 1940s, there are more children under 10 years of age than at any other time in our history; and more women, with or without family obligations, are already working outside the home. As a result, in this period of mobilization, the best source of additional manpower is no longer the women but the minority groups.

The chances of passing an FEPC bill in Congress this session are no better than they were last year when the bill failed twice to reach the Senate floor because the 64 votes necessary to cut off debate on the motion and to call it up were lacking. The threat of a filibuster will remain as long as the Wherry cloture rule, adopted by a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in 1949, is in effect. Senators Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) and Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) have introduced a cloture resolution which would require only a straight majority vote to limit debate. Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.) and several other Senators plan to introduce a resolution requiring a two-thirds vote to close debate within 10 days, and only a majority vote after 10 days' debate. Until one of these resolutions is passed, there is little chance for an FEPC bill to slip through the Southern blockade.

Congressional inaction has brought about a new move for fair-employment-practices regulation through a Presidential executive order. The President is being urged to issue an order stating that there "shall be no discrimination in employment of any person in defense production or in the government." A manpower resources board would be appointed to carry out the order, which would prohibit companies receiving government loans or fulfilling government contracts, and labor organizations as well, from segregating or in any way discriminating against minorities. Where the board finds a company or union has violated the order, it will ask the Attorney General to institute appropriate proceedings to enjoin the breaches. Those studying the executive order are concerned about the legal difficulties involved. During World War II, Congress passed riders to several appropriation bills restricting the power of the President to create special commissions. The Russell amendment flatly prevented appropriation of money for such a purpose. At present, the Bureau of the Budget is considering these problems along with the proposed executive order.

MORE RAIL TROUBLE

Another nationwide railroad strike is brewing. The four operating rail unions have rejected the agreement proposed by the operators and Presidential Assistant John R. Steelman on December 21; and Steelman has referred the whole matter back to the Railway Mediation Board. Negotiations, presumably, are to start again from scratch. But the representatives of the railroads have refused to appear before the board since the dispute was returned to its jurisdiction and are insisting on standing by the old proposal which the unions have declared to be inadequate and unfair.

Chiefs of the four big railway unions have told Steelman that they will hold out for a five-day week with no pay cut and will not accept the rules changes suggested by the operators because they would "wreck conditions achieved in over 50 years of collective bargaining." The leaders agree that it was "highly improper" of Steelman to write himself into the proposed contract as "Czar" of the rail industry.

The situation remains as the *New Republic* described it on December 25. The only right way toward settlement of the railway employees' grievances is by Presidential intervention and the naming of a special mediator to resolve the conflict. Unless this is done soon, union leaders doubt their ability to hold their members in check much longer.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Western European problem is, as General Eisenhower points out, a "question of morale, of intent of purpose expressed in readiness to sacrifice, both by nations and by individuals." He says:

> If we could unite these people behind great basic purposes, there is nothing they cannot do, absolutely there is nothing beyond their power. But unless every sacrifice made by America is matched by equal sacrifices, equal sincerity of purpose in the Western European nations, this thing cannot win.

On the scene in Western Europe, however, the question of morale is also a question of the meaning of *equality* in sacrifice. If Eisenhower and other spokesmen for the Administration take it to mean *identity*, they may be playing into the hands of Taft or even Kennedy and Hoover; or worse still, miscalculating the really big risk of 1951.

The day after Eisenhower's arrival in Paris, he was the guest of Jules Moch. The official news agency, Agence France Presse, reported:

> The dinner for General Eisenhower given by the Minister of National Defense will doubtless remain in official annals as the shortest that has ever been known. In fact, the guests were at the table for only 40 minutes.

It was no sacrifice for the general to race through his meal: he wanted to get to work, and for him 40 minutes for food was already a sacrifice in *his* scale of first things first. But on the same day, the conservative *Figaro* pointed out that, although the standard of living among the French workers is relatively the worst among the nations with well-developed industrial structures, the average French working-class family still devotes four-fifths of its budget to food and drink.

The principle of equal—in the sense of identical—tightening of belts on behalf of the common defense of freedom runs, therefore, into a difference in national habit, in traditional way of life. For that reason, shorter and smaller meals will hurt morale in France more than in the United States. Moreover, of France's six million workers in business and industry, less than 10 percent earn $60 or more monthly, at least five percent earn less than the legal minimum wage, and in every aspect of life, other than eating and drinking, standards are very low. The *Figaro* comments:

> If France is threatened in its independence and its freedom by Soviet expansion, the workers will defend France because it is their country. They will not, however, defend it as American workers will defend the United States with the conviction that their country offers them the best possible conditions of living, or at least the greatest chances of prosperity and social dignity.

Eisenhower says that if the Western European nations "were not in this thing wholeheartedly and up to the hilt . . . then no individual, no matter what his brilliance, his military skill, his wisdom in statesmanship or his knowledge of economics, could possibly win through." The general spent only a few days in Paris, and they were devoted entirely to meeting officials. If he could have spent more time, and with ordinary people, he would have had to reconsider the meaning of equality in wholeheartedness of natural purpose. For, as a brilliant Frenchman, Maurice Vaussard, asks:

> Can there be the same reserves of health, the same resources of psychological vigor and conviction among the peoples of France, Italy and Germany—the three countries which must form the bone structure of Continental Atlantic defense, and also the three countries which suffered so terribly in the two world wars—as among the people of an immense nation that has never been invaded, never conquered, and is in full demographic, industrial and financial development?

Unless men like Eisenhower (whose personal sincerity is not in question) take these differences into account from the start, Vaussard warns, "they will be condemning themselves to building on sand a structure of inapplicable plans."

President Truman made clear in his State of the Union address that he did not equate unity with unanimity. Even so, however, the problem of achieving unity in support of common defense in countries like France and Italy is quite different from that of coping with the neo-isolationists in the United States.

The Western European countries have not only a more serious problem of convalescence, which expresses itself in more widespread and more intense retreatism of one kind or another; they have also a problem of disease which does not exist in America, and which makes a dangerous mockery of the concept of equality. There are 180 Communist or fellow-traveling members of the French National Assembly. They represent more than 30 percent of the electorate. In Italy, the Communists and fellow-traveling Socialists count for some eight million votes, an even greater proportion of the total electorate.

An effort to purge the civil services of the two countries, to remove from all positions likely to affect the national preparedness efforts all Frenchmen and Italians who are (to understate the case) not wholeheartedly in favor of the efforts, would amount to something like preventive civil war. The fact that, in Italy, a neo-Fascist alliance with neo-Monarchism is being built up on a militant basis does not make the prospect any more comforting. It is not a desire for appeasement that has made the Rome *Messaggero*—organ of important currents in the Vatican-linked dominant Christian Democratic Party—come out twice recently in favor of trying to work out a modus vivendi with Moscow; it is fear that the application in Italy of Eisenhower's "up to the hilt" doctrine will lead to civil war.

The problem of building Western European morale is not insoluble; but it calls for "wisdom in statesmanship" and "knowledge of economy" more than for "military skill." Above all, it calls for differences in the realistic tactical application of common strategy, differences based not upon theoretical counting of numbers of men and divisions but upon recognition of the realities, especially in the area of *possible* equalization of sacrifice. PERCY WINNER

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SCIENTISTS AND THE GREAT DEBATE

by A. G. Mezerik

"THE GREAT DEBATE" is on. The air waves, the press and the rostrum resound with opinions, pro and con, expressed by politicians, businessmen, commentators and bankers. Nearly all point with pride to our scientists as among our greatest assets in meeting the trials ahead. The scientist is, all agree, the indispensable man. Yet the working scientists themselves are saying little.

The reason for their silence is not that they live in an ivory tower and do not know what is happening. For, far more than in business, banking or politics, mobilization is already a fact in the world of science. Mobilization in science, more than in any other segment of our society, affects all age groups and all activities. While in no way diminishing their deep love for their country, conflicting emotions and climactic events culminating in mobilization have made the scientists inarticulate.

Mobilization means an end, for the indefinite future, to the activities most cherished by the research scientists. Investigations into the mysteries of nature must come to a halt. Cures for ills, such as cancer, must be left to the chance that they will fall, as chips, from the trunk of the tree of military research. To the teacher of science in colleges and universities, mobilization spells a bodily transplanting from his classroom to a military laboratory and a drying up of the stream of new student scientists for years to come. To the engineer, mobilization means an end to his civilian projects; an indefinite postponement in the production of electronic eyesavers, the building of housing, the creation of safer, faster transportation, of television and other instruments for improved communication, and a halt to the bare beginning made in unsnarling the traffic and housing problems of our cities. To all scientists it means a protracted moratorium on the pursuance of dedicated careers.

At the recent meeting in Cleveland of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, all this was heavy in the air. Speaker after speaker pointed out that the dream of harnessing atomic fission for peaceful uses —one of the few bright heritages of the last war—is to remain in the dream stage for decades. Other speakers, among them some who represent various government agencies connected with the utilization of science, documented the degree to which mobilization has already occurred in the sciences and forecast more to come.

Eric A. Walker, executive secretary of the Research and Development Board, said: "It is a little startling to realize that the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission engage the services of about two-thirds of the nation's scientists and engineers. If the expanded program contemplated by both agencies materializes, we may find ourselves absorbing some three-fourths of the nation's technically trained personnel. . . ." As is readily seen, Walker's calculation goes far beyond mobilization of scientists and engineers since he includes all technically trained personnel in his forecast. To make clear how total the mobilization of science is to be, Walker told his scientist audience, "Those of you who have not been tapped thus far will probably be summoned to service before very long."

To the faculty members of his audience, Walker pointed out that the defense demands cannot be met without recruiting teachers: "Fewer numbers of students are enrolling in the scientific courses in the colleges," Walker reported, "a fact that is in a large part attributable to the decreasing numbers of able science teachers in the high schools."

The scientists listened quietly to Walker. They had few questions. Nor did they react with much greater vigor when Henry D. Smyth, of Smyth Report fame, made his proposal for a self-imposed system of conscription for both students and practitioners of the sciences. The speech of the new president-elect, Detlev Bronk, president of Johns Hopkins, was on the same order and was received with the same resignation. One scientist read a paper in which he speculated that the iron curtain of secrecy which has now descended on the international exchange of scientific information may result in unique and singular developments in each country now being isolated behind its own national borders. So deep is the resignation that this thesis of the evolution of science through non-co-operation did not raise even one sardonic eyebrow.

The lack of reaction on the part of the scientists to all this news, which so vitally affects the future of every working scientist, had its sources neither in any special opposition to the government's foreign policy nor in lack of interest in building a strong defense. It had its wellsprings in emotions and thoughts at once more personal and more universal. The scientist's way of life is once again being changed and his hopes dashed. The atmosphere of freedom in which science burgeons is to be supplanted once more with the atmosphere of classified information, interminable security investigations and se-

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crecy. Above and beyond this is a feeling of guilt which, though inarticulate, goes deep into the scientist's being. The scientist knows that it has been his work which has made possible vast destruction. It has been he who has created the unprecedentedly potent tools which confer tremendous power on those who control their use. Faced with the fact of mobilization, the scientist suddenly begins to realize that he neither controls the tools which he has made nor does he have a voice in making decisions as to how and where these tools shall be used.

Scientists have made atomic bombs and conceived hydrogen bombs. They work now on bacteriological warfare. With every new military creation, the work of the scientist becomes more important. And, year by year, it seems to many scientists that as this process takes place they are more and more becoming the prisoners of their own creations. The more powerful those creations are, the more the scientist seems to lose his independence and with it his will to speak out. This process has gone far in the last two years.

In the fall of 1948, when Harlow Shapley was the retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the scientists, meeting in Washington, D. C., were militantly against loyalty oaths. Last year in New York City when Professor Kirtley Mather, also of Harvard, was elevated to the position of president-elect, the scientists were equally vocal in demanding protection for Dr. E. U. Condon and other scientists who had been subject to persecution by Congressional committees. Last year they also were forthright in demanding that the National Science Foundation, then in process of being created, safeguard scientists from special and discriminatory requirements. This year the scientists were mute on all these questions.

In that two-year period much, of course, had happened to shake the scientists. The Fuchs case—with Fuchs's revelation that in the midst of a scientific atmosphere an active atomic spy ring could exist—undoubtedly played an important part, shattering the faith and trust of great numbers of scientists and breeding, in and out of science, a dank cloud of suspicion. The general anti-Communist hysteria has played a large role in making the naturally retiring scientist even less willing to voice an opinion not shared by the majority.

But as important as both of these is another fear, less concrete, described by Kirtley Mather, one of America's great citizens and scientists, as being "a fear of the two Frankenstein monsters which science has created":

> Though the scientist consoles himself by constantly repeating that science and its works are neither moral nor immoral, the scientist does not want the atomic bomb, much less the hydrogen bomb, used. The other Frankenstein monster is built, strangely enough, out of the scientist's constructive achievements which are great indeed, since they have truly made it possible for all the peoples of the world to dream of creative living. The scientist is justifiably proud of this laudable feat; yet, as world events have moved, it too is a factor in making him fearful.
>
> Science is responsible for the tremendous rise in productivity which has characterized these last 50 years. Science makes men more efficient, and it makes life more comfortable; and these facts have been demonstrated in the Western world. Science is also responsible for improved systems of transportation and communication, and these latter two have spread to the most remote countries on earth the news of the Western world's highly successful demonstration of the creative power of science. The result of these cumulative achievements of science has been that peoples everywhere are demanding immediate and similar benefits. That demand is, of course, one of the most basic of reasons for unrest and revolutions throughout the world. In the context of ideological fights, this fact is presently obscured in a welter of claims, counter claims, accusations and condemnations. The Frankenstein monsters of destruction and abundance have at one and the same time created fear in their creators, the scientists.

What Mather here describes is the crux of the present dilemma of the scientists which has made them voiceless in the "great debate." In refusing to assume the heavy social responsibilities resulting from their actions, scientists are permitting intelligence to be used for ends which have not been determined intelligently. Their consequent frustrations have led them into a sea of confusion.

The problem is, of course, a tremendous one, and some scientists are, in spite of the great silence, thinking and talking about it. Mather and Einstein are among the best known, but recently an organization called the Society for Social Responsibility in Science, led largely by Quakers, has come into being. Its goal is expressed in the proposal made by Bart J. Bok, of Harvard Observatory, to revise the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights to define the duty of every scientist as:

> To examine searchingly the meaning and purposes of the work that he or she is performing, and, when in the employ of others, to inquire into these purposes and to evaluate the moral issues that may be involved; to promote the development of science in the ways most beneficial to all mankind and to exert his or her influence as far as possible to prevent its misuse.

This quest for clarification of the role of scientists in a society where their work is of such paramount importance will continue. Peace will be easier to get and hold if scientists, aware of the social and economic implications of their work, bring scientific methods to bear on the world's problems.

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PEOPLE AND PICKETS

by Robert Wohlforth

MUCH MORE interesting, though far less important to all of us, than the censorship issues involved in the exhibition of the Italian film, "The Miracle," is the scene in front of the Paris Theatre in New York every evening where the picture is being shown. Neither the City License Commissioner, who threatened to revoke the theatre's license if the film was not withdrawn, nor the New York Supreme Court Justice, who ruled that the license commissioner was wrong, nor the State Board of Regents, who certified the picture for exhibition, could have foreseen the mighty melodrama on West Fifty-eighth Street for which their respective actions provided the cast, the setting and the spoken lines.

First are the pickets provided by the Catholic War Veterans and the Knights of Columbus. They march in a continuous circle under the marquee of the theatre with neatly-lettered signs asking people to stay away from the picture because of its anti-religious content. Next are the handful of counter-pickets, whose signs protest any attempt at censorship of the film. Third is the management of the theatre, which is in a high state of excitement about the greatly increased business and the size of the waiting box-office line, which stretches around the corner on Fifth Avenue. The Paris is a small theatre catering to a select audience with exotic foreign films. It never had a hit like this before. Last are the police who keep things orderly in a very bored manner.

All active factions — pickets, management and counter pickets —put on a performance worth the price of admission even before you enter the theatre. First a two-page pamphlet is distributed by the pickets telling you *not* to see "The Miracle." Then the counter-pickets present a small leaflet telling you to see the picture if you want to. From time to time, the management passes out programs, so that you have a nice pile of reading matter, complete with legal citations, even before you are close enough to buy a seat.

The principal activity is provided by the elite, or premier, pickets who have adopted a stern, patriotic approach in opposing the film in recent nights and who carry their signs in a military manner. A few of them wear overseas caps and announce, from time to time, that anyone walking along the south side of West Fifty-eighth Street is un-American, anti-Red Cross or a left-wing diversionist if he doesn't pass right by the theatre with his eyes straight ahead. Those picketing the pickets make their opposition to censorship plain but wander around in their area much more informally. Apparently they have some drawing power, as they are frequently greeted by friends in the box-office line.

Baiting the waiting customers from the picket line is stepped up briskly now and then, particularly when the pickets see a couple they believe might respond to their arguments. The night we were there, a well-dressed couple in front of us engaged in a lively but rambling discussion with the pickets about the picture. When the box-office line had moved ahead so that the couple were close to the marchers, one of the latter leaned out of line, pointed his sign directly at the male member of the couple, and asked in a voice that could be heard all the way to Fifth Avenue: "You wouldn't take your mother to see a picture like this, would you?"

The feminine half of the couple faced the picket and in a voice as loud and ringing said, "I *am* his mother."

One Sunday afternoon, the pickets marshaled more than 200 marchers and there was a lot of general but ineffective name calling back and forth. On the whole, however, nine o'clock of any evening is the time to get the more intimate touch, particularly when the waiting customers out-number the pickets twenty to one; the management serves coffee, and the counter-pickets get lost in the rush.

Even those forbidden by Cardinal Spellman to see the movie would enjoy the marquee marchers. Inside or out at the Paris Theatre, it's a performance that is hard to beat.

Robert Wohlforth, educated at Princeton and West Point, has written magazine articles and books, and worked in several branches of the federal government.

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THE US BLOCKS PEACE

The following letter was written to the editor of the New Republic, *as a private commentary on US foreign policy, by an outstanding British expert on Asia, who has spent much of his life fighting Communist influence. He lived in Canton from 1921-24 under the Sun Yat-sen regime. He accompanied Chiang Kai-shek's ministers in the retreat from the Japanese in 1937. In wartime he served first in General MacArthur's headquarters, then in the War Office, then as a colonel on the staff of Lord Mountbatten. He was principal adviser on Chinese affairs to the British Military Administration in Malaya, and later a consultant to the UN on the Far East. He has written several books on Asia and is at present university lecturer in Far Eastern History at Cambridge University. We are not wholly in agreement with Mr. Purcell's views, but we regard them as representative, critically important and largely right.*

IT IS NOT the news from Asia which dismays me and many who feel as I do (what is happening there seems merely to be in the logical sequence of things), but the news from America. Scarcely a note of what sounds like sanity reaches us from the States except in the columns of your paper and one or two others which I hear of but which I only occasionally see.

Perhaps you will bear with me if I try to give you my views on the world situation in small compass? What I have to say will be a trifle discursive and not in the close-knit form of an article, but maybe it will gain from being just a spontaneous letter straight from the heart. After all, I have had 30 years of intimate contact with the Far East and I feel on terms with the peoples of Asia. Moreover I have served in two wars.

Having said all this, I express my conviction that United States policy is founded on mistaken premises and that the present situation is the logical result of an unbroken series of blunders since 1945 and before.

The case against America has, as you know, been presented with breath-taking candor in Dean Acheson's White Paper of 1,028 pages. The press has ignored it in England and, indeed, the volume of the evidence adduced has the effect of obscuring the simplicity of the confession. You yourself are, of course, fully aware of the purport of the White Paper, but it would be well to remind ourselves again of what it amounts to. The United States (with the acquiescence of Britain), fully aware that the Kuomintang had become a group of corrupt and incompetent reactionaries, and knowing that Chiang Kai-shek and his associates were enriching themselves while diverting the greater part of American aid to be used against the Communists who were the main, if not the only, Chinese force in the field against the Japanese, yet decided to support him in his plan to crush them. When Hurley and Marshall had failed to reconcile Chiang and Mao (an attempt which was foredoomed to failure through the bad faith of Chiang), Wedemeyer recommended all-out assistance to the Generalissimo—short, that is, of the dispatch of American troops to China which the American people would not have tolerated. The USA thus intervened in Chinese internal affairs to oppose a movement which had the support of the Chinese people, earning the intense hatred of the latter (this hatred was almost palpable in Shanghai in 1947), and with no other practical result except to arm the Communists with the munitions passed to them by Chiang's deserting generals. To cement the hatred and resentment of the Chinese, the United States backed MacArthur in his support of Chiang and in cordoning off Formosa, as integral a part of Chinese territory as Maryland or Delaware is of the US.

If, in consequence, a world war comes (the Chinese war is already on) over the triple question of Korea, Formosa and the acceptance of China by the United Nations, there will be a split in the opinion of the Western bloc which may gravely endanger its solidarity. I am in touch with a number of the outstanding British authorities on the Far East, and their consensus seems to be that to make the Chinese intervention in Korea a *casus belli* with the Communist bloc would be morally wrong and, in practice, suicidal. Sir John Pratt, for many years in our foreign service in China and for 14 years adviser on China to the Foreign Office, went so far as to say that it would be the "wickedest war in history." I could give you a list of a dozen or so men who are among the outstanding British experts on Asia as agreeing broadly with the view I express, and it includes not only officials but prominent and hard-headed businessmen who have been in China recently. One of the latter remarked in a speech that there would be no improvement in the situation so long as the US thought she could settle things by force! The man who said this was not a "fellow traveler" but the head of a great mercantile firm. If this attitude is typical of the specialists in the field on both sides of the Atlantic, it would be a grave weakness in the event of war since such expert knowledge is indispensable in the conduct of it. No doubt in the final issue the experts would be swayed by

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patriotic mass impulses and a desire for the survival of the West, but intellectually and morally theirs would be a divided participation.

In 1914 and 1917, and again in 1939 and 1941, the issues were clear-cut and simple. Britain and America were accepting an unmistakable challenge, and the alternative was national servitude. That, of course, is the argument that is being used now, but it does not carry conviction—not only to the Asian specialists but also to an important section of the British public. The press, generally speaking, asks its readers to see in Korea the unmistakable signs of Soviet aggression. China (they say), at the instigation of Russia, has unwarrantably intervened in Korea to undo the police work of the United Nations. No one who has studied the situation can believe that there is a vestige of evidence for this charge. The fact is that China has reacted in face of MacArthur's provocation in an extremely logical and expected way. So completely has MacArthur's action in pressing on toward the Yalu River deprived the United Nations of the moral support arising from the belief in North Korean aggression that any reference to the offensive of June 25 sounds nowadays like an appeal to the Boston Tea Party or the Alabama Case or something equally irrelevant and remote.

The intervention in Korea was intended (by President Truman at least) as meeting a Soviet challenge in a theatre where the issue could be fought out locally (and, by token, globally) once and for all. The opportunity was lost (if ever it had existed) the moment that the Chinese were given even a colorable excuse for joining in the fight. The excuse, of course, was much more than colorable; it was morally and practically ideal. Chinese intervention came only after a disregarded warning and an exhibition of forbearance. Thus Korea ceased to be a local issue once and for all, and the United Nations, and the United States in particular, became, to Asia at least, the aggressor. It is hard to believe that MacArthur did not and does not now seek a world war.

If we are going to have a war which we mean to win, the only time to allow it to be commenced is when the issue is unmistakably clear. If the global war were to develop from the present undeclared war with China, the inevitability of such a war would not be felt in Britain in at all the same way as with the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45. The popular press attempts to present an appearance of resignation and solidarity, but it does not fairly represent the temper of the British people. People are grave and worried, but there is no rising wave of indignation against Russia or China. The civil-defense drive is receiving the poorest response. That is *not* the spirit in which to enter a war.

I am not going to attempt to take stock of the position in Europe but will content myself by summarizing the odds in Asia. It is a truism, accepted by Marshall if not by MacArthur, that it would be disastrous for the West to allow itself to be bogged down in Asia. Korea, China and Indo-China would swallow up all reserves of men and munitions in an insatiable morass. Having recently visited Indo-China, I am convinced that the French are fighting a battle they can never win against the people of Viet Nam, and US help will make no difference—except to the US. Thus if the West is to engage in global warfare with Russia and China, it must first disengage itself from Korea and Indo-China in order to be able to fight in Europe.

The attitude of South and Southeast Asia has often been made clear. The countries of this region are to us a broken reed indeed if they were to come in, or be forced into, the struggle. The only Asian country which has, so far as I am aware, made even a token contribution toward the UN forces in Korea is the Philippines, and we all know how *they* stand. My own view is that these new Asian governments, quite apart from their refusal to regard the present ranging of forces as anything more than the rivalry of two power blocs, are conscious of their own weakness and of the impossibility of carrying their peoples with them in the event of any move to throw in their lot with the West (even if they wanted to). I noticed this feeling particularly in Indonesia and Burma. The hold of these newly independent governments is precarious, to say the least of it, and in spite of their playing down Communism as a source of internal danger, they represent middle-class hierarchies, the legacy of European dominion, and they know that any violent change can lead only to the displacement of themselves by elements further to the Left.

During my recent tour of Southeast Asia, I felt more than ever that among the advisers to the Western governments, and in particular to the US Government, the strategists had far too prominent a place. Strategy should spring from political and psychological considerations—of that I am certain—and yet the opposite is more often the case. Moreover, strategists are in my long experience, whatever their eminence as navy, army or air force officers, usually politically immature. Indeed, it not infrequently happens that a brilliant commander has the political development of a boy of 14. It is fallacious, of course, to regard the world primarily in strategical terms, even for the purpose of conducting a war. (You will remember how a few months ago Admiral Royall stated that Japan could be dispensed with in wartime since the US bombers could use the Pacific Islands as bases. He afterwards withdrew this statement.)

It is repeated nowadays as a sort of pious formula

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that nothing can be achieved by force of arms but only by the force of ideas, that Communism can be defeated only in the sphere of economics and of the mind and the emotions and not by planes and troops and bombs. But the Western governments often behave as if they did not believe a word of it. In London recently a distinguished Air Chief Marshal spoke to me of the Colombo Plan as a reckless piece of idealism for which the British taxpayer would have to pay. In my recent journey I was dismayed to find what power the military missions wielded. I heard frequently of the strategical indispensability of Formosa to the United Nations. As if possession of a bombing base could offset the bitter enmity of 500 million Chinese! As if the elimination of a few military targets could put China out of action! In spite of the tributes paid to the Chinese as soldiers when properly trained and led by commanders from Gordon to Stillwell, the fact is that the public imagination in the West is still impressed by the European victories in the wars with China in the nineteenth century —"push-overs" won with almost farcical ease.

Of course, I realize that to paint a picture of the strength of China (and in terms of many modern weapons she is admittedly weak) is as likely as not to accentuate the fear of the Yellow Peril and to precipitate action against her. In any case, among the British at least, the notion of an imperialistic and expansionist China is widely current and is fostered by the present Chinese insurgency in Malaya. I do not deny for a moment that the presence of over 10 million Chinese in Southeast Asia gives rise to justifiable apprehension among the native peoples of the region and gives color to the rumor that these alien communities are to be made the spearheads of a Chinese-Communist advance.

The Chinese press in Siam and Burma, for example, has turned to the support of Communist China, and there is no doubt a great deal of sentiment for this new and strong China in the minds of the Chinese overseas. At the same time the Chinese population in all these countries is predominantly mercantile and seeks only to maintain its mercantile nature whatever the superimposed regime. Peaceful traders for generations, they have not suddenly become militarists overnight, arming themselves like the German Bund in America before the last war; they carry on their peaceful occupations and go out of their way to be conciliatory to the local governments as often as to the Communist bandits. If the 2.6 million Chinese in Malaya, for example, had gone solidly imperialistic or Communistic, instead of sitting on the fence, the British would be out of Malaya by now.

Many Britons in Malaya and outside it do not, however, see things in this way. They make no distinction between the Communists in Malaya and those in China —indeed the more ignorant of them make no distinction at all between Chinese of any kind. The essential difference, of course, between Chinese Communists in China and those in Malaya is that the former are in power with at least the acquiescence of a majority of the Chinese people; whereas in Malaya a small Chinese minority is seeking to impose its will not only on the Malayan Chinese as a whole but also on the Malays, Indians, etc., who form a majority in the Federation.

The identification of the Malayan Chinese with Communism and expansionism tends to accentuate the common British pro-Malay, anti-Chinese attitude. This unnecessarily multiplies Britain's enemies in Asia. But one can see more and more clearly that while the Malays depend on the British to protect them from a Chinese-Communist republic, they themselves are influenced by the growing anti-European feeling in Asia—anti-European, that is, in the political sense. In Malaya, Dato Onn bin Jafaar, the head of the United Malays National Organization, from time to time talks of "getting rid of the British in five years" (at other times he talks of retaining the British longer or indefinitely), and the recent demonstrations in the Maria Hertogh case in Singapore are a warning that the days of divide and rule are numbered. There is definitely an Asian spirit abroad.

In fine, the Chinese menace (if there is one) must be met by the peoples of Asia and not by the West on their behalf. The dominance of the Chinese in Southeast Asia is due to their superior industry and acumen and can only be met by increased industry and better commercial tactics on the part of the native peoples. It cannot be met by any military action whatever.

What then is the immediate answer? To my mind it can lie only in a complete revision of the United States and the United Nations attitude toward Asia, and particularly toward China. It means admitting and undoing all the errors which have been made since 1945. There must, in fact, be a diplomatic New Deal. The mess in Korea is so hopeless and so ominous in any world flare-up that the only sensible thing to do is to get out lock, stock and barrel. It is no good talking of prestige, or "saving face"—any attempt to save it will lead to a worsened position. And if there is to be any settlement with China at all, the United Nations and the USA must leave Formosa and recognize the People's Government of China. The USA seems indisposed at present to do this and is seeking for an impossible "compromise"—some "solution" in a world war. Is there any hope that sanity will prevail in America, or shall we be condemned to fight a war in Asia which we cannot win?

VICTOR PURCELL

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Another General Talks Too Much*

MAJ. GEN. ROBERT H. SOULE of the US Third Division in Korea is the latest brass hat to break into print. If expletives, deprecatory adjectives and vauntings that only require time to dissolve themselves into vapors would have served, General MacArthur might, indeed, have marched triumphantly home by Christmas at the head of his Army. Those who have followed the Korean War with hopeful concern and admiration for the valor and heroism of the UN troops have not forgotten that, in an earlier day, a notably brave and able American field commander had declared that his soldiers had reached the point where they would "stand or die."

Shortly thereafter, it was necessary for the greatly outnumbered UN troops to fall back further toward Pusan. It looked as though it might be necessary to defend a beachhead until the soldiers could be evacuated. When the outlook seemed the darkest, General MacArthur executed a brilliant counter-stroke, as a result of which the North Koreans were outflanked by sea and driven back through their own capital, Pyongyang, to the Yalu River. Dividing his Army into two, which were without means of communicating with each other except through Tokyo, MacArthur announced that he was about to fight a battle to end the war.

MacArthur might have lived up to his advance notice if the Chinese Reds had not become aggressors and thrown in enough well-trained veterans to parry the thrust that had been announced by the Supreme UN Commander. Forced out of North Korea, the UN troops retreated south of the 38th Parallel and had to yield Seoul before they were able to stabilize their line. Then, on January 21, according to the Associated Press, when the UN Army was again under great pressure at strategic Wonju, and when the immediate future was in grave doubt, Major General Soule concluded that it was an apt time to exercise his vocal cords. So he intoned what every loyal American hopes will come true, but which every intelligent American wishes had been molded into deeds that would speak for themselves.

General Soule said, according to the Associated Press, as reported in the Washington *Post*: "We can stop the Chinese on this line or any other line they tell us to hold." Does the general want the American people to infer that "they," whoever "they" may be, did not "tell [the Army] to hold," instead of falling back? He continued: "And if they [sic!] order us, we will go back and take Seoul. We can stop any damn thing they can throw at us."

One may wonder why, if the UN forces are able to retake Seoul, they were not able to hold it. Was it because "they" had not given orders to do this? Following this adolescent "My-Dad-can-lick-your-Dad" boast, according to the AP dispatch, "the general granted that the Chinese have overwhelming numbers." He ended on this note: "We need to get over this awe of numbers and get used to the idea that we can whip them, because we can." This particular talking general should reconcile his use of the expression, "overwhelming numbers," with his boast that "we can stop any damn thing they can throw at us."

Again every loyal American hopes that the general is right, but every intelligent American also wishes that he had cited accomplishments to give point to his forensics. Instead, he misused words that might have the cruel effect of unsettling American hearts which beat with anxiety for those dear to them in far-off Korea. Americans have good reason to be doubtful of a general who boasts about what he can do, especially if what he says has the connotation of "we might have" if only "they" had told us.

So far as I know Gen. George Washington did not call in the town criers to tell them that his soldiers could defeat the Hessians at Trenton or Cornwallis at Yorktown. He was content to let the deeds speak for themselves. Ulysses S. Grant, at Vicksburg and later at Appomattox, was noted for his taciturnity. He did the jobs assigned to him and let the historians fill in the details. Two other Americans, on two widely-separated occasions, have announced that they would have war-weary American soldiers out of the trenches "by Christmas." One of these was the late Henry Ford speaking from Detroit during the First World War. The other, of course, is General MacArthur, who spoke the wrong lines at the wrong time when he announced from North Korea that he was preparing to fight a battle to end the war so that he might get his soldiers out of Korea by Christmas. A second, and an even more serious, mistake on the part of General MacArthur was his open disparagement, both of the intent and the ability, of Red China to follow up its warning against the penetration by the UN Army in Korea beyond the 38th Parallel.

General Soule seems to have taken a leaf out of MacArthur's book when he said, according to the Associated Press dispatch already quoted: "We have hurt his [Red China's] best troops in many spots. Behind them is the riff-raff."

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

DISSECTION WITH A PAPIER-MACHE KNIFE

by Ernest Nagel

A CRITIQUE OF LOGICAL POSITIVISM, by C. E. M. Joad (University of Chicago Press; $2.75).

IN 1922 a philosophical discussion group was organized in Vienna, eventually to be known as the Vienna Circle. It was a distinguished body, if only because it counted among its members not only unusually competent professional philosophers, but also eminent scientists who were concerned with broad issues in their disciplines. The Circle addressed itself primarily to the analysis of logical problems arising in concrete contexts of scientific inquiry; and it sought to fuse the empirical tradition going back through Mach to Berkeley and Hume, with the "new rationalism" of modern logic associated at that time chiefly with Bertrand Russell and his former pupil, Ludwig Wittgenstein. The philosophic views thus adopted by the Circle acquired the name of "logical positivism." The *bête noire* of the group was the intellectual and social obscurantism engendered by traditional metaphysics; and one of its aims was to formulate a criterion for distinguishing between meaningful and meaningless language, to serve as a tool for a genuinely critical philosophy.

The doctrines professed by the Vienna Circle never congealed into unalterable dogma, and its members have repeatedly revised many of their basic assumptions. Logical positivism attracted some of the best minds among the younger philosophers; and it found allies in other countries where similarly oriented philosophical tendencies (such as pragmatism in America) had been developing. The growing influence of this far-flung intellectual movement, and especially its forthright attack on metaphysics, won for it foes no less than friends. Many of the older generation of philosophers saw in it a serious threat to the prestige of philosophy as traditionally taught, as well as to established moral and social values. The intellectual orientation of logical positivism still remains a favorite object of bitter criticism for those who subscribe to the assumptions of *philosophia perennis*.

C. E. M. Joad's book aims at a final annihilation of the enemy, but its title is seriously misleading. It is not a critique of logical positivism, but merely a hostile and blunt-edged review of A. J. Ayer's *Language, Truth and Logic* — a small volume published in 1936 by a British philosopher, which expounds in highly readable form some of the central claims of that movement. Joad believes the book requires detailed refutation because of its influence on young students, and particularly because the "skepticism" its arguments allegedly induce in those who mistakenly accept them provides fertile soil for the growth of Fascism, Communism and Nationalism. He therefore examines with a show of great care Ayer's discussion of technical philosophical issues in the theory of knowledge and ethics. Joad is invariably on the side of the angels; he writes as a stout defender of the Greco-Christian tradition and as a believer in a pervasive moral and religious order in the universe.

However, no one who has read Ayer, or better still the sources upon which the latter relies for his arguments, is likely to be convinced by Joad's attempt at wholesale refutation. He tries to use a scalpel upon what are often extremely subtle logical doctrines; but he persuades his readers only of the fact that he has no talent for delicate surgery, that he has mistakenly dissected the wrong patient, and that unwittingly he has picked up a *papier-mâché* knife. Indeed, he manages to reduce to utter nonsense the views Ayer defends only by grossly misrepresenting them. Two examples must suffice. There is a doctrine, first propounded by Russell, according to which statements about such physical objects as the sun are "logical constructions" out of statements about directly experienced sensory qualities such as hot, round, hard, and the like. Joad presents this doctrine as the thesis that *physical objects* are logical constructions out of *words*; and having thus radically misconceived what the doctrine asserts, he has a picnic ridiculing it. Again, he convicts Ayer of moral nihilism on this argument: Since Ayer holds that profitable discussions on moral questions are possible only if there is agreement on some system of moral standards, but since he also claims that there can be no argument concerning the validity of these ultimate standards, Ayer is committed to the view that no significant discussion of moral questions is possible. But if Joad's reasoning were cogent, one would be compelled to maintain similarly that since geometrical demonstrations are possible only if some undemonstrated axioms are assumed, and since the axioms cannot themselves be demonstrated, no demonstrations in geometry are possible.

But the crucial issue raised by Joad's book is not whether logical positivism is free of error in points of specific doctrine or general tendency. Even those most closely identified with the movement are conscious of difficulties that need to be overcome; and many students who are generally sympathetic to it have regretted the excessive scholasticism that has characterized it in recent years. The crucial issue concerns the ethics of intellectual controversy, and the irresponsible accusations Joad makes against logical positivism in order to discredit it. His real animus against that philosophy is a moral one. He admits that the general outlook associated with logical positivism is liberal and anti-authoritarian, and that no one influenced by it "could accept the

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Hegelian notion of the State as a superperson, or even the fascist conception of the nation." Nevertheless, he insists that it leads to the erosion of desirable beliefs and to the growth of undesirable ones. In just what manner does this come about? Because, says Joad, "Sap the foundations of rational belief in God, in truth, in goodness and beauty, as Logical Positivism cannot help but do . . . and you sow the seeds of intolerance and dogmatism." But this is the typical gambit of one who is prepared to adopt the methods of the Inquisition, rather than to follow the argument wherever it may lead.

Ernest Nagel, professor of Philosophy at Columbia University, is editor of "The Journal of Philosophy" and author of many books.

LITTLE PUDDLES

THE HUMAN GROUP, by George C. Homans. With a Foreword by Bernard De Voto (Harcourt, Brace; $6).

DURING THE LATE great Depression, the sociologist William F. Whyte spent three incredibly patient years lounging and bowling with a group of unemployed Italian youths in a New England slum, diagramming their patterns of leadership and social interaction. Still earlier, Elton Mayo and his co-workers made the famous studies of small working groups at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric, methodically observing the formation of cliques, of games, of production norms, etc., on the job. George C. Homans' book takes a series of such individual case studies and analyzes them in a profound search for the "laws" of human behavior in small face-to-face groups. His concern, like that of the studies on which he draws, is with the details of the drama of life: how men everywhere, by virtue of their common humanity, relate themselves to one another and to the props of their existence. Whereas social scientists, and particularly anthropologists, have until recently been engaged in attacking our complacent assumption that "human nature" the world over is the same thing as American middle-class nature, Homans is one of those students of society who have begun the equally emancipating enterprise of showing that, beneath seeming diversity, men everywhere tend to act the same way in the same situations *as interpreted by them.*

Take, for example, the principle that those who stand at the top of a small group, in terms of leadership or social rank, are those who best obey the norms of that group—and are in that sense the least "free." Mr. Homans traces this principle—or rather, hypothesis—in a variety of human groupings, ranging from the position of a ship captain in a modern navy to the situation of the father in a preliterate Polynesian family. Many will say that what he finds to be true is hardly news, but is summed up in the maxim: *noblesse oblige.* And Mr. Homans, as a man of wide culture, is well aware that discussion of the problems he struggles with has a long history. But his achievement consists in stating just where his maxims apply and where they do not, in the light of a series of inter-related maxims applicable to small-group behavior.

I believe, moreover, that many readers who are not professional social scientists will enjoy following Mr. Homans on his conducted tour through and around the studies he relies upon, seeing how he takes nothing for granted and how carefully and, in the mathematical sense, elegantly he builds his generalizations. Readers can hardly help being stimulated by the brilliance and pungency of the writing, though they may have mixed feelings about the recognitions concerning their own small groups which the book may force on them. Considering, for instance, Mr. Homans' discussion of the low morale of a group of design engineers in an electrical company who resented the bureaucratization of their once small and scholarly company, I was led to reflect on the deep resentment of many academic people as the bureaucratization of university life turns them into employees who can see the boss, the president, only at "office parties" and state occasions. Other readers may find that they understand friendship better as the result of seeing its functions in a New

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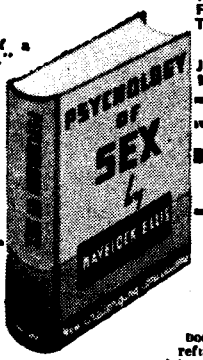

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England hill town a hundred years ago.

At the close of the book, Mr. Homans touches on the problem, dealt with in other aspects in Granville Hicks's *Small Town*, of how to link the cohesiveness and self-control of the small and homogeneous group to the large-scale formal organizations of Western civilization. He finds that in the cycle of civilization and decay, the local group seems the only hardy perennial: civilizations arise by destroying many local groups (of farm, family and region), then trying to hold the scattered individuals together by main force, only to fail and leave the earth to remnant, undestroyed groups. As applied to the United States, this analysis seems to me somewhat to underestimate the degree to which American city-dwellers suffer from being overgrouped, combining the disadvantages of the city with those of small-town life. But Mr. Homans claims only to make a beginning in tackling the fateful issue of the role of small groups in large-scale society, and I can make here even less than a beginning in entering a caveat. It is not the least of the merits of this book that it will help carry the discussion onto a new level of candor and sophistication.

DAVID RIESMAN

David Riesman, a professor of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago, has both taught and practised law and was at one time an official of the Sperry Gyroscope Company. He is the author of "The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character."

MR. LINCOLN'S WAR

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY, by Henry Steele Commager (Bobbs-Merrill; 2 vols., $12).

Now, eighty-five years after Appomattox, less than a score of GAR veterans are still alive, and there are even fewer survivors of the Confederate Army. Within a very short time, the last of the hundreds of thousands of blue-and-gray-uniformed young men who fought for four years over a vast territory from Pennsylvania to the Gulf will have died, and the American Civil War will pass from the recollection of living men.

Its passing marks the end of an era in American history. The Civil War veterans were a tie to the past, a tie to the days when wars were fought in terms of men and horses, and firing power was conditioned by the time it took to reload a single-shot musket. It is no wonder that our mechanized generation looks back to such times with nostalgia. Gallantry requires face-to-face human relationships. There is no need to be gallant to an unseen enemy.

It is fitting that there should be a revival of interest in the Civil War at this time. The interest, however, is not in military or technical matters; it is almost wholly in human terms, in how the people lived, how the war affected them, and how the armies carried on their daily affairs. As a result, a number of eye-witness accounts of the Civil War have recently appeared. Professor Commager's collection is the latest and the largest of them.

His two volumes contain hundreds of personal accounts that cover every phase of the war from the councils in the White House to death in battle. Much of the material, particularly that which deals with political and military affairs, is familiar; the best part of the book by far is that which is truly personal and casts some light on the individual's reaction to the conflict. Ex-GIs should be especially interested in the section "How the Soldiers Lived," which contains such pieces as "The Soldiers Get Paid and the Sutler Gets the Money," "Getting a Haircut in the Army," "An Illinois Private Complains of Bad Cooking" and "How to Make Money in the Army."

But the veteran of World War II who expects to find many accounts as disillusioned as these will be disappointed. Soldiers in all wars at all times have been rather cynical about the cause for which they were fighting, but the men who fought the Civil War, Blue and Gray alike, were far less so than their descendants. They believed that they were fighting for something. In his introduction, Commager quotes Oliver Wendell Holmes about the war's meaning to men like him:

> Through our great good fortune, in our youth our hearts were touched with fire. It was given us to learn at the outset that life is a profound and passionate thing. While we are permitted to scorn nothing but indifference, and do not pretend to undervalue the worldly rewards of ambition, we have seen with our own eyes, beyond and above the gold fields, the snowy heights of honor, and it is for us to bear the report to those who come after us.

His statement goes far to explain the difference between his generation and ours. But perhaps the publication of books like this will help our disillusioned young men to understand their grandfathers, who were naive enough to go into battle calling upon the name of John Brown and believing that his soul was really marching on.

PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN

Philip Van Doren Stern is the author of "The Man Who Killed Lincoln," "The Drums of Morning" and other books.

MISS BOWEN'S WAY

EARLY STORIES, by Elizabeth Bowen (Knopf; $3).

In *Early Stories* Miss Elizabeth Bowen has combined in one volume her first two collections of stories—*Encounters* (1923) and *Ann Lee's* (1926). There cannot be many living authors who, having passed the age of fifty and published sixteen volumes of fiction and non-fiction, would care to see their earliest efforts reprinted, word for word, as they appeared a quarter of a century ago. What strikes the reader most forcibly in this book is the astonishingly high standard of writing; there is barely a page that would cause a blush to appear on any mature writer's cheek. It is Miss Bowen's Preface, however—in which she takes the words right out of the reviewer's mouth—that will be of greater value to admirers of her later work. A model of objective self-analysis, it should also prove instructive to the student. The beginner should be encouraged to hear, for example, that not one story in her first book was accepted by a magazine editor; and the critic confronted by a writer's first work should bear in mind something that Miss Bowen has never forgotten: "I cannot over-emphasize," she says, "the importance, to the young writer, of initial reviews."

In this respect, Miss Bowen was fortunate. Her first book, partly composed of mere sketches of domestic life, partly of stories attempting to reveal the deceits and vanities of passionless people, was received with what she "most wanted:

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judgment." But reviewers did find, as Miss Bowen feared they might after her reading of *Bliss*, that she had "imitated" Katherine Mansfield. Of how many story writers, since that day, has this been said? But for once one feels that the critics were justified. On the very first page of *Encounters*, published in the year of Mansfield's death, the adjective "little"—a favorite of that author at her most whimsical—is used, gratuitiously, three times. There are suggestions, too, in the earliest of these sketches, of Mansfield's pre-occupation with the life of objects, of furniture, rooms and houses. Soon, however, the influence is shed, and in *Ann Lee's*, at a surprisingly early age, Miss Bowen exposes her own imprint, that unique hallmark by which her work is still, and no doubt will continue to be, recognizable.

I refer to the most memorable as well as the most mystifying stories she has written (including several in her last collection, *Ivy Gripped the Steps*), all of whose endings may be said to leave the reader "in the air." In the title story, in "The Secession," "The Storm" and "Human Habitation"—each one a study of what Miss Bowen aptly calls "human extremity and dereliction"— nothing is resolved, nothing interpreted; the reader is simply left guessing. In her Preface, however, Miss Bowen states that she was perfectly conscious of what she was doing, what she was up against. "I was beating myself," she says, "against human unknowableness; in fact, I made that my subject. . . . The stories are questions asked: many end with a shrug. . . . I cannot consider these to be trick endings; they were the admission of my predicament."

This is a disarming if not entirely satisfactory explanation. While Miss Bowen's admirers will no doubt agree that life *is* "unknowable," they may consider it the duty of the artist, not to state, but at least to suggest or imply (and no one alive knows more than Miss Bowen about the art of implication) a direction she thinks the reader might most profitably follow. JAMES STERN

Irish-born James Stern is the author of "The Heartless Land" and "Something Wrong," short-story collections. A new collection, "The Man Who Was Loved," will be published in April by Harcourt, Brace.

Also of Interest . . .

The editors offer these notes to describe briefly current books that may be of interest to their readers.

Studies in Revolution by E. H. Carr. Macmillan; $2.

Provocative sketches of a number of philosophers, master builders, pioneers and intellectual midwives of revolution: of Saint Simon, Marx, Proudhon, Herzen, LaSalle, Plekhanov, Lenin, Sorel, William Gallacher, Stalin, among others. The articles out of which the book is made appeared in the Literary Supplement of the *Times* and are the by-product of Professor Carr's studies for his eagerly awaited *History of Soviet Russia.*

Economic Aspects of Atomic Power: An Exploratory Study under the direction of Sam H. Schurr and Jacob Marshak. Princeton; $6.

A study of the economics of atomic power —when it becomes technically feasible—its potential effect on various industries such as steel, aluminum, chlorine, brick, glass, phosphate fertilizer, cement, railroad transportation; on the national economy as a whole and on that of other countries. This competent evaluation makes it as clear that atomic power will ultimately turn the world's wheels as that the present emphasis on the destructive use of atomic energy will postpone peacetime uses for decades.

The Human Species, by Anthony Barnett. Norton; $3.75.

This unorthodox treatment of biological knowledge, emphasizing the facts most useful to man in his encounter with contemporary social problems, is a clear, attractively written introduction to a subject about which most of us, thanks to the usual popular hash on health, food, world resources and genetics, command a remarkable repertory of old wives' oddments and general misinformation.

The Man versus the State, by Herbert Spencer. Beacon Press; $1.50.

Reprint of a classic protest against authoritarianism. A. E. Heath in his introduction notes that Spencer was dealing with "those fundamental problems of the relation between individuals and government which will continue to concern each age in turn. . . ."

Essays in Teaching. Edited by Harold Taylor. Harper; $3.

The President of Sarah Lawrence College presents a group of essays in which members of his faculty explain how and why they teach what they teach. Among the contributors are Horace Gregory, Helen Lynd, Rudolf Arnheim, Esther Raushenbush and Stephen Spender.

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ON THE AIR: Music, News and Drama

As far as network radio is concerned, classical music is now in the category with baseball. Game broadcasts helped to build audiences for radio in the days when the national chains were developing and growing. Soon, however, radio discovered that this type of coverage did not pay; by default, the business went to the local stations and everybody was happy. But in music, the home-town outlets are slower picking up what the networks have dropped. From listeners throughout the country one hears complaints about the dearth of classical music on the air.

In an area like New York, with its abundance of local stations on both standard and FM wave-lengths, there is plenty of fine music. I find listed for one Sunday 30 excellent programs; but between 2:30 in the afternoon and 11 at night, only four are network productions. CBS no longer broadcasts the New York Philharmonic direct from Carnegie Hall. Now WNEW, still among the city's most enterprising stations, uses that period—3 to 4:30—to help fill the void left by the big network. WNEW's program director, Richard Pack, has engaged Benny Goodman to spin records and intersperse dry, knowing, sometimes witty comments. But a local New York broadcast is no help to the rest of the country.

ABC is the only one of the big chains that carries on in the old musical tradition with its Saturday-afternoon broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera. NBC has Toscanini on the air again, Saturdays from 6 to 7:30. However, he is there only because of the competition in the record business between RCA Victor and Columbia Records. NBC almost lost Toscanini last fall when the maestro returned from Italy to discover what everybody around Radio City knew —that his favorite studio, 8-H, was being converted to television. Furthermore, he was to be squeezed out of his Saturday-evening time. Piqued, he was on the point of signing with CBS. But that switch would have transferred his recording contract from Victor to Columbia, and RCA, which owns both Victor and NBC, wouldn't stand for such a hole in the Red Seal catalogue. Toscanini was talked into staying on NBC at his old time.

If CBS merits censure for slighting the Philharmonic, it deserves praise for "Hear It Now," which is on radio Friday nights, from 9 to 10. Through recordings of voices, sound and events, this program recreates the major news and human-interest stories that have developed in the preceding seven days. Fred Friendly and Edward R. Murrow are the men behind the program, the latter, of course, doing the narrating. As the title indicates, Friendly and Murrow are using the techniques they developed so handsomely in their "I Can Hear It Now" albums. From everywhere in the world the program brings to the listener the voices of personalities who have made news. Murrow's narration is always mature, tolerant and understanding. Friendly is among the country's two or three most skilled experts in the art of tape-recorded realism. This combination is a natural for radio reporting, and "Hear It Now" is not just another newscast; it is a weekly news magazine of the air.

CBS has found the answer to Milton Berle. On alternate Tuesdays, eight-to-nine, opposite NBC-TV's gift to vulgarity, you might look in on Prudential's "Family Theatre." The dramas you'll see may not be masterpieces, but the acting and production are always excellent. I saw Gertrude Lawrence and Donald Cook starring on this program the other night. They did "Skylark," which is no great shakes as a play. But Miss Lawrence was splendid, and Cook and the rest of the cast knew how to underact for the greatest small-screen effectiveness. On the Tuesdays when "Family Theatre" isn't on, CBS-TV has another worth-while program, "Sure as Fate."

At nine, Tuesday nights, you might try tuning to ABC-TV's "Billy Rose Show"; and at nine Wednesdays, the "Somerset Maugham Theatre" on CBS-TV. They present fiction ranging from the humdrum to the mediocre, but given impact by skillful telling and acting.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

From Lorca Down

The most valid drama among recent entries was Lorca's "The House of Bernarda Alba." Unfortunately, it was presented by ANTA for only a limited run. Unfortunately also, its production, despite the presence in the cast of some talented players, left much to be desired. Lorca is not easy to translate to the stage because his plays involve passion whiter than flame subjected to a discipline blacker than coal. Vocal shrillness will not do to indicate the passion, nor physical tension to indicate the discipline.

While "Bernarda Alba" is in a sense simply a regional play and as strictly realistic as Lorca knew how to make it, and while its ostensible theme might be raucously set down as "sex frustration," it is at once rich in virile emotion, psychological in a way that would delight students of Freud, symbolically sociological in relation to Spain—as a rebel poet viewed it in June, 1936, two months before he was killed by the Fascists.

What I hope to suggest by the foregoing statement is that a work of art contains everything within it: the mood and tone of the artist's feeling as well as the fact and meaning of the artist's environment, the quality of the creative source and the concreteness of the world which is being mirrored, the particular and the general. Philip Barry's "Second Threshold" and Sidney Kingsley's "Darkness at Noon" are not works of art. Though they both treat themes of great contemporary interest, neither gives us a solid sense of either the souls of their makers or of the reality of their material. They are based chiefly on what might be called hearsay.

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The subjective aspect of Philip Barry's play is its more important one. A writer of intelligent light comedies, Barry paused periodically in troubled search of spiritual security. It seems natural therefore that his last play should deal with a successful man who, somewhat past the middle years of his life, finds himself with a sense of having nothing to live for. The theme is almost topical. But having once stated it, Barry seems at a loss to carry it forward with anything but the most banal development. The reason for this, I believe, is not that Barry had no "solution," but that the statement of his hero's disillusionment is unspecific, as if Barry, though he knew himself to be morally disturbed, did not know why.

The central figure of "Second Threshold" repeatedly makes glib references to the "state of the world" and one or two other familiar reasons for personal discontent which never have the particular substance or atmosphere of a particular man's problem. Consequently, the play's premise strikes one as thin, the dramatic resolution feeble, and the whole a neatly written improvisation situated between conversational parlor introspection and popular treatises on how to be happy though miserable.

The production of "Second Threshold" is lamentable. The talented Margaret Phillips is miscast; Clive Brook, an expert performer, plays as if he did not want anyone to get morbid over his possible suicide. The director made his people behave as if the homes of the cultured and well-to-do off lower Fifth Avenue were stock-company stages devoted to the revival of plays by Clyde Fitch.

I am confident that most people who hear about "Darkness at Noon" approve of its politics; I am certain that disenchanted leftists, who once looked to Moscow for miracles, will be fascinated by the play's point, which is that the rigid, materialistic functionalism of those misguided humanists, the old Bolsheviks, has led logically to the inhuman brutality of the later Soviet leaders. I am equally convinced that the average sensible theatregoer who sees the play will be left cold, because it is an elaborate mechanism which issues from no central core of real experience or intimate knowledge.

Kingsley has a gift for making theatre out of local color and documentation in such dramatic milieus as hospitals, off-center neighborhoods, detective bureaus. Being a man of the thirties, Kingsley also has a penchant for liberal social preachment. He has, however, no psychological insight, no poetic eloquence, no capacity to convey the quality of any inner state. He has pieced "Darkness at Noon" together from the surface of Koestler's novel, from quotes out of the writings and speeches of various Soviet spokesmen, and from the editorial repetitiousness of innumerable contemporary journalists. The result is a sort of *Reader's Digest* melodrama, intricate without suspense, psychological without characters, philosophical without mind, violent without effect. The total impression is that of cardboard operatics, reminding one both of our old anti-Nazi war films and the propaganda plays of the early Roosevelt era.

Such playwriting is hardly conducive to rich acting. Most of the actors in "Darkness at Noon" are more than competent. Allan Rich, as Prisoner 202, suggests greater reality than the rest. Claude Rains as Rubashov is always sincere, dignified and intelligent. If he strikes one as an impassioned and idealistic English college professor rather than a steel-willed Russian political figure, the fault is not his.

The first offering of the City Center drama season, "Captain Brassbound's Conversion," was an amiable variation on two of Shaw's major motifs: the triumph of genial common sense over routine propriety, and virginity as a salutary component in the good life of action. "The Royal Family," the second City Center offering, is the kind of corny play about show folk which most serious students of the drama disdain and which I rather enjoy. Both plays were excellently set by Ben Edwards and most pleasingly acted by Edna Best, Ethel Griffies and others.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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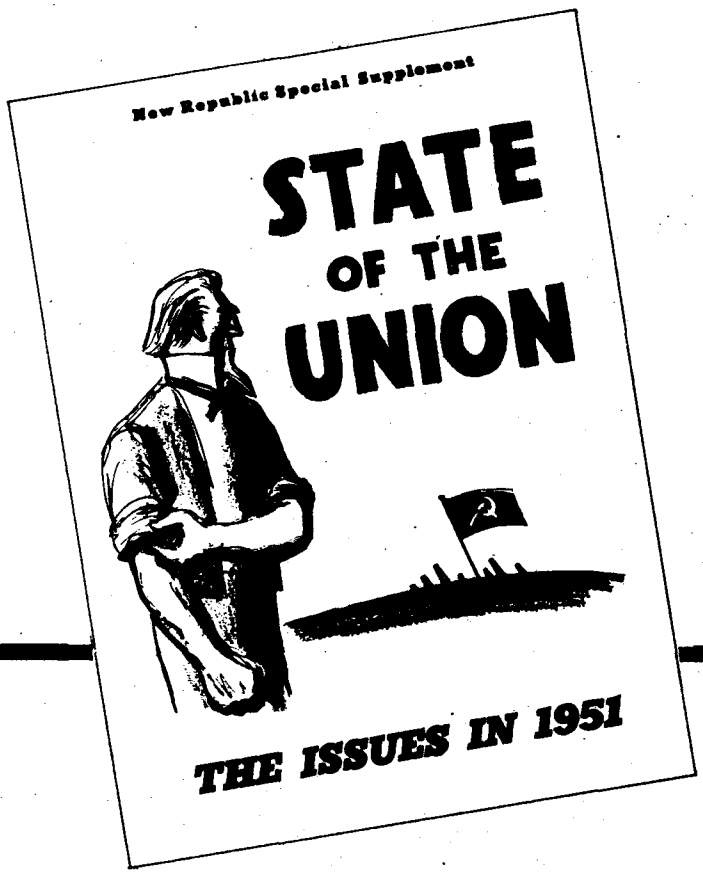

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